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MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Views of Glafkos Clerides

Inside Cyprus

1. The political credentials of Glafkos Clerides within the Greek Cypriot community are impressive. As president of the House of Deputies, he was the constitutional successor to Makarios. He is co-leader of the center-right Unified Party which has the largest number of seats in the House and is widely considered to be the "establishment" party because of its close ties to the business community. He has also served as negotiator for the Greek Cypriot side in the intercommunal talks since their commencement in 1968.

2. A lawyer educated in Britain, Clerides was a prominent participant in the first enosis campaign of the 1950's against the British. He became a close associate of Makarios and soon assumed the role of "heir apparent." Clerides' relationship with Makarios began showing signs of strain in 1969 following the President's suspicion of Clerides' political ambition. When, in February 1969, Clerides formed the Unified Party in cooperation with former Minister of Interior Polykarpos Georkatzis, Makarios, who disapproved of Clerides' association with Georkatzis, encouraged the formation of other parties in order to counter Clerides' party. This angered Clerides and contributed to the deterioration of relations between him and Makarios.

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3. Clerides was reelected President of the House in July 1970. Members of his party urged him to run against Makarios in the presidential elections of February 1973 but he demurred.

4. Politically, Clerides sought to appeal to the moderate elements of the center, castigating on occasion both the left and right and questioning the efficacy of government policies. He has favored a more flexible position in the intercommunal talks, condemned both the violence of pro-enosis terrorists and that of government forces, and sought to play a moderating role in the 1972 dispute between Athens and Nicosia as well as in the most recent one which led to Makarios' overthrow. His penchant for moderation and compromise have earned him the distrust of both extreme left and extreme right who consider his motives as opportunistic.

5. Clerides has little support among the pro-enosis elements on the island. He and Sampson have been political rivals since at least 1969. It is unlikely that the present rulers of the island would distinguish much between Makarios and Clerides. They would therefore be likely to resist any effort to impose Clerides, though they might be receptive to the appointment of a more respectable rightist with pro-enosis and anti-communist credentials.

In Athens

6. It is unlikely that Clerides would be acceptable to Ioannides as leader of the Greek Cypriots despite his attempt to play a moderating role in the confrontation between Athens and Makarios over the control of the National Guard and the role of the Greek officers attached to it.

25X1

-2-

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7. The extent of Ioannides' commitment to Sampson is not known.

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It may well be that Ioannidis considers him expendable and may be willing to bargain with Ankara over his fate. This may account for the choice of such a controversial figure to head the new regime. On the other hand, the Athens regime's insecurity may have led it to choose Sampson because of his presumed malleability rather than his notoriety. In that case Ioannidis would likely resist dumping him, unless he is confronted with the possibility of a Turkish invasion and/or the complete diplomatic isolation of Athens and non-recognition of the Sampson regime.

In Ankara

8. Of all prominent members of the Greek Cypriot political elite, Ankara and the Turkish Cypriots would probably be most comfortable with Clerides. More than the others, he is a known quantity since he is the only Greek Cypriot representative with whom they have had frequent if irregular contact through the intercommunal talks. Clerides enjoys good personal relations with Rauf Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot

-3-

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leader and negotiator. The Turks doubtlessly assume him to be sensitive to Turkish Cypriot concerns. Moreover, he is a moderate and an advocate of the "feasible" policy of independence rather than the "desirable" policy of enosis.

-4-

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